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Sylvia Schraut & Klaus Weinhauer [*]

Abstract: *»Terrorismus, Gender und Geschichtswissenschaft – Eine Einleitung«*. After some introductory remarks, this article gives a brief overview on contemporary terrorism research in the political and social sciences. Then, the important contributions historical studies have made to enhance the academic knowledge about terrorism are sketched. The third part provides an overview which not only critically discusses the state of research on gendered aspects of terrorism but also demonstrates the stimulating insights gained by employing a historical perspective in this field. In the fourth chapter, the authors outline some promising topics of future terrorism research which all can be studied from gender sensitive historical perspectives. Finally the results of the contributions put together for this HSR Special Issue are summarized.

Keywords: Terrorism, gender, history, periodization of terrorism, terrorism as pattern of communication, cultures of memory, victims, terrorism and communities/milieus.

1. Introduction

Terrorism is neither a precisely definable entity nor is it a coherent movement – it is a derogatory attribution: The label *terrorist/terrorism* aims to delegitimize social movements, political groups, individuals, and so on. Some of these problems have been quite well-known since the mid-1980s when some authors claimed to have found more than 100 different definitions of the term (cf. Silke 2004, 2009 on the 1980s). Important heuristic clarifications of the definition of terrorism have been provided by the sociologist Peter Waldmann and the political scientist Louise Richardson (Waldmann 1998, 10, 13; Richardson 2006, 4f.).[1] They see terrorism as a specific form of political violence carried out by sub-state groups which plan and execute their politically-motivated violent actions from a semi-legal or illegal milieu against civilians and against state institutions. The choice of victims and the type of terrorist acts are of symbolic importance and are aimed at spreading insecurity and winning sympathy.

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[1] In this paper the terms 'militants,' 'militant activists', and 'terrorists' are used synonymously.

As this working definition implies, the study of terrorism is a challenging field for interdisciplinary scholarly cooperation: Terrorism has high relevancy and has a history dating back into the nineteenth century. Moreover, there is rich international scholarship from many different academic disciplines. While in the 1990s some fifty books per year appeared with the word *terrorism* in the title, between 2002 and 2008 these numbers rose to some 300 per year (Silke 2009, 35). The problem is, however, that many studies often follow an analytically narrow perspective which is also sometimes quite close to governmental or political party positions. They also lack professional historical perspectives, and many authors only quote publications from their own discipline.

This HSR Special Issue demonstrates the advantages of an interdisciplinary approach which, following a historical perspective, integrates the results generated in the broad scholarly field of terrorism research. In the following chapter we give a brief overview of contemporary terrorism research in the political and social sciences. We then sketch the contribution historical studies have made to enhance academic knowledge of terrorism. We critically discuss the state of research on gendered aspects of terrorism, and also demonstrate the insights gained by employing a historical perspective in this field of terrorism research. In the fourth chapter we will outline some promising topics of future terrorism research which all employ gender sensitive historical perspectives. Finally, we summarize the results of the further contributions in this HSR Special Issue.

2. Contemporary Terrorism Research

2.1 Political Science and Social Science Research

Research on terrorism originates in the USA and in Western Europe with its major roots in the 1960s. The early studies either focused on terrorism of the National Socialist or the Stalinist States. Later, this focus on state terrorism faded, and revolutionary or at least oppositional social movements were given attention, mostly ones in Latin America and in Cuba, as these areas were deemed to be significant regions of origin for terrorism (cf. overviews in Stump and Dixit 2013; Schmid 2013; Breen-Smyth 2012; Matusitz 2013; Richardson 2006a). Most studies published on terrorism are written by authors from the field of political science. This becomes obvious when we look at the leading journals on terrorism, whose authors and also whose editorial boards are dominated by political scientists.[2] Especially after 11 September 2001 many publica-

[2] In 1977 *Terrorism. An international Journal* appeared (since 1992 renamed *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*), in 1989 the journal *Terrorism and Political Violence* was established (started as *The Journal of Terrorism Research*) and since the mid-2000s several new journals were launched, among them *Critical Studies on Terrorism* (since 2008).

tions on terrorism tended to follow state or governmental perspectives. The inherent problems of such biased research have been tackled from the early 2000s tackled by *critical terrorism studies*, often written against the background of surveillance studies. The position of these authors can be summarized in four points (see Jackson, Smyth and Gunning 2009; Schulze-Wessel 2009; Weinberg and Eubank 2008). First, when it comes to methodology and analysis, it is underlined that accepted definitions of terrorism were not only missing but were applied in a "persistently inconsistent manner" (Jackson, Smyth and Gunning, 219), mostly focusing on groups which were pre-defined by Western political interests; in the early stages it was mainly left-wing and after 2011 mostly terrorism by Islamic groups, while right-wing, Christian or Jewish terrorism was seldom treated. Moreover, what was often missing was a thorough critique of sources, especially in regard to official materials. Second, critical terrorism studies argued that as most terrorism researchers are closely related to state agencies and state funding, most of their research is focused on non-state terrorism. Thus state terrorism has been neglected. Third, they also claim that a problem-solving approach has dominated the field, sometimes with a more or less counterinsurgency perspective. Fourth, in their view, terrorism has usually been analyzed as an isolated phenomenon shaped by a process of "de-contextualisation and de-historicisation" (Jackson, Smyth and Gunning 2009, 219; Jackson 2007, 244f.). Some of these remarks may sound too general or a little bit overdone, but they have raised important issues, although some questions have already been asked by authors from other disciplines, a point to which we will return later.

Recently Chris Hayward, a sociologist and leading cultural criminological scholar, has put forward some stimulating theses regarding a closer cooperation of cultural criminology and critical terrorism studies (Hayward 2011). While Hayward has a critical view on early cultural criminology's overemphasis on the discursive, he blames critical terrorism studies for their "unformulated concept of emancipation", which is "frustratingly vague" (Hayward 2011, 69). He concludes that both disciplines rely strongly on interdisciplinarity and share a critical stance towards their *mainstream* competitors.[3] What critical terrorism studies and cultural criminology have in common is their highly sensitive approach towards the production of knowledge especially by state actors.

In the wake of 9/11 in urban geography, an intellectually promising field of research has been established which integrated impulses from security studies (cf. as overview on security studies Daase, Engert and Junk 2013; Daase, Offermann and Rauer 2012; Daase 2012; Zwierlein and de Graaf 2013; Zwierlein,

[3] Hayward (2011, 61f.) is especially critical of the tendencies in mainstream criminology and terrorism research to defend the social, economic and political status quo, to uncritically use quantitative data, to merely act as problem-solving agencies, and to the dominance of rational choice theories.

Graf and Ressel 2010). In his seminal study "Cities under Siege," Stephen Graham argues that in the *War on Terror*, cities became a highly important battle ground for strategies of war, geopolitics and security (Graham 2010, XV). This strategy was a novelty, even when compared with the long history of "anti-urban and apocalyptic fundamentalism" (Graham 2010, 40). Cities and their spaces[4] were conceived and perceived by terrorists as well as by state actors as battle fields in a global war. In such a war the application of advanced control and surveillance strategies and practices became imperative. Graham calls this a "new military urbanism", in which cities and their infrastructure become less and less communal, and private spaces are seen as "a source of targets and threats" (Graham 2010, XIII, both quotes). One could critically ask for how many cities in which world regions these strategies have already been put into practice and also doubt whether the war metaphor is too often used, but it is worthwhile for future research to discuss more explicitly the urban dimensions of terrorism and the fight against it.

In the last years a bulk of studies (often from media or literary studies) has been published which employ discursive approaches. This research often was focused on media representations, on images of terrorism/terrorists or on how terrorists portray their hostages (see Locher 2013, 2012; Preece 2012; Balz 2008; Terhoeven 2007). In some of these studies often neglected gendered perspectives were employed (cf. on Italy Glynn 2013; on Western Germany Bielby 2012). In Germany the first academic research on 1970s terrorism was undertaken by criminologists often with a sociological background (cf. the overview in Weinhauer 2004). When it comes to contemporary terrorism, however, sociological and criminological publications have become rare (Ruggierio 2006; Hitzler and Reichertz 2003; Frost, Greene, and Lynch 2011; Vertigans 2011). There are, however, two related disciplines which still produce important insights about terrorism. Social movement approaches have analyzed the structure of terrorist groups and patterns of state repression, while research on political violence contributed to the integration of terrorism into the broader spectrum of violent actions (see Della Porta 1995; Gunning 2009; for violence research see Collins 2008).

Sociological and social movement research, sometimes supported by ethnographic studies, has yielded path-breaking results, among others, on terrorist milieus, on the interaction between terrorists and the state, and on group cultures in clandestine terrorist organizations. Many terrorist militants originated in social movements. This led to the insight that state actions were instrumental in politically radicalizing some movement activists. If their protests were main-

[4] These arguments are inspired by a cultural historical understanding of space which sees space not as a mere container but a relational concept which shapes and is shaped by human actions. Space integrates urban practices (lived), perceptions/concepts (perceived), and symbolically constructed (conceived) elements (see Lefèbvre 1991; Löw 2008).

ly met with police or military repression, they could become convinced that they could reach their aims only by resorting to more militant actions and even go underground. Moreover, security forces and terrorist groups can easily become trapped in processes of mutual escalation in which each side claims it is reacting to the opponent's violence (see for this and for the following Waldmann 1998, 163-77; Richardson 2006, 69ff.). Terrorist groups quite easily can get locked into a dynamic of radicalization and social isolation that is reinforced by living an isolated, clandestine underground existence. De-individualization often goes hand in hand with a growing dependence on group members, and strong internal emotional ties develop. The social isolation of the illegal group contributes to a growing radicalization of actions and of thinking. In these situations, ideology, or in some cases religion, can function as media of compensation. This process is often accompanied by the invention of particular rituals and symbols. The underground lifestyle helps foster images of heroic-elites or martyrdom (often with pre-modern resonances)[5] and makes the group immune to social realities. Thinking and acting follows only black and white terms, leaving no space for differentiation. A hermetic culture develops in which ideology and religion can also serve to support the recruitment and mobilization of new activists. Innovative ethnographic research on Northern Ireland was undertaken by Jeffrey Sluka and Allen Feldman or on Sikh militants by Cynthia Mahmood (Sluka 1989, 2002; Feldman 1991; Mahmood 1996; McNamara and Rubinstein 2011). Interviews and participant observations with ethnonationalist activists underlined the close community ties of these militants and also the role of repressive state interventions in motivating violent actions. Sikh militants also were positive evaluated by community members who pointed to the fact that their actions had been motivated by love rather than hate.

2.2 Historical Research

Although during the 1970s and early 1980s considerable scholarship emerged on the history of nineteenth-century anarchism in Europe and also on leading anarchists, terrorism studies written by professional historians still are not abundant (see as early historical studies Laqueur 1977; Mommsen and Hirschfeld 1982; Merkl 1986). This has changed since the early 2000s, when historians started to intellectually contribute to the study of terrorism in several ways. On the one hand, they embarked on case studies on terrorist groups and their supportive milieus (Pekelder 2012; Hanshew 2012, 2012a). On the other hand, historians have developed an approach that is able to integrate many issues raised by critical terrorism studies (see as overviews Hikel and Schraut 2012; Weinhauer and Requate 2012; Härter and de Graaf 2012; Schraut 2011; Weinhauer, Requate and Haupt 2006). This approach puts the communicative as-

[5] For information on martyrs, see chapter 3 of this introduction.

pects of terrorism at the forefront: terrorism is a pattern of communication. This, however, must not be interpreted in a way that the media are to blame for terrorism. Rather, its main message is to integrate terrorism into a complex process of communication of different actors. Decoding these processes of communication helps to analyze the political, social, and cultural repercussions of terrorism.

The communication-based entanglements of terrorists with the state and with media societies are of highest importance. First, among the potential addressees of terrorist communication the state is of key importance. Although terrorist actions also communicate to sympathizers, supportive milieus or even competing groups, the state cannot escape to take action against terrorism, as its monopoly of physical violence is challenged. These state (re-)actions, in turn, are integrated into broader social processes of communication and are telling examples of how state actions are socially perceived.[6] Second, the agenda setting qualities of terrorism are not confined to some news headlines or to merely produce front-page images. The fact that actions of terrorists are publicly discussed is a consequence of media societies which took off in Western societies since the late nineteenth century, although there were already debates about the power of the media and about how to control them since the early 1800s.

While in the early nineteenth century political militants had to focus their attacks on high-ranking personalities (politicians, state officials, kings, symbolically important personalities), in the late nineteenth century the broad media coverage could generate great public attention even if only formerly unknown persons or buildings were attacked. To put it briefly: Terrorism not only interacts with some media, but with media societies. In media societies social processes and media communication are closely interwoven. Media not only passively transmit information. Rather, they also set agendas by presenting, interpreting and discussing terrorist acts and related state actions. Media can generate wide public attention by communicating the messages of the terrorists. We must recognize, however, that media at the same time generate follow-up communication: Terrorists are thus challenged by the media coverage of their actions. In this setting the militants have to ask themselves: What do we really want to achieve besides simply gaining public attention? As the case of French urban terrorism of the last third of the nineteenth century demonstrates, the strong public attention that terrorist attacks or court performances of anarchists like Ravachol generated, often was short-lived: This media coverage put the anarchists under pressure to explicitly communicate what, beyond simple public attention, they wanted to achieve with their violent actions. In the 1890s,

[6] Employing this perspective on the role of the state in practicing as well as in influencing reactions on terrorism would surely contribute to overcome the sometimes not so fruitful very abstract debates between *mainstream* terrorism studies (if something like that exists) and critical terrorism studies.

their answers were interpreted as being not convincing; as a result, the support and the attention towards their actions diminished (Requate 2012).

2.2.1 Periodization

What historians are also well-qualified to do is make clear that there has not only been one single pattern of terrorism since the nineteenth century. Although we cannot broadly outline the history of terrorism in this brief introduction, at least the issue of periodization must be put on the agenda. Early terrorism occurred after the French Revolution (see Schraut 2013a, 2013b; Walther 1990; Haupt and Weinhauer 2011). It was a pattern of political violence which aimed at provoking public debates about the legitimacy of the existing state, about political participation and the related gender roles. Since the Atlantic revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, broad masses had been politicized and politics no longer were matters of small political elites (Osterhammel 2009, 769). All this was embedded into debates about bourgeois society. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the term terror/terrorism mainly referred to the state induced terror of the French Revolution. Since then, however, liberal elites became more and more integrated into parliamentary politics and institutions, and started to perceive the organized lower classes and their collective actions, rather than an unrestrained state, as the principal threat to peaceful order. During the nineteenth century the label *terrorism* was not widely used, *anarchism* was often used as a substitute.

Already in the important pre-phase of terrorism in the early nineteenth century states and a media public existed. It was, however, only in the second half of the nineteenth century that due to the developing mass media society the interaction of terrorism, social movements and the state fully developed.[7] Since then five overlapping phases of terrorism can be discerned. These phases stretch from the mid-nineteenth until the early twenty-first century. They not only underline the highly important historical aspects of terrorism but also

[7] In political science a model is developed which subdivides terrorism into four waves (see Rapoport 2006). The first or anarchist wave of terrorism started in the second half of the nineteenth century and lasted until World War I. The anti-colonial terrorist wave began in the 1920s and peaked in the 1940/50s. The New Left wave of terrorism mainly stretched from the 1960s until the 1980s, and the wave of religious terrorism started in the 1980s and intensified during the next decade. Rapoport's model has some analytical problems. It does not give clear criteria of how to precisely define the four phases. It also has little to say about the social roots/social milieu of terrorists. It omits the communicative elements of terrorism and the role of state actions and of the media. Moreover, this model has analytical problems with integrating ethno-nationalist terrorism - the IRA is discussed in the anti-colonial as well as in the New-Left phase of terrorism, while the Basque ETA is completely neglected. The discussions initiated by this model mostly refer to the contemporary period, as no data are available for earlier periods. See for these intellectually not so innovative debates the contributions in Rosenfeld (2011).

stress that terrorism is a phenomenon which is shaped by strong transnational flows and movements which stand against a research focus too narrowly concentrated on single nation states (see for the following and for more details Weinhauer and Requate 2012a; Haupt and Weinhauer 2011).[8] The first phase of terrorism began in the second half of the nineteenth century. This period was shaped by militant actors who either had close ties to the labor movement or to radical intellectual milieus, where anarchist concepts were elaborated since the reactionary phase which followed the revolution of 1848. Moreover, global militant nationalist movements were active in this period (Africa, India, Ottoman Empire, Balkans). The second, right-wing phase of terrorism was mainly a European phenomenon which began after World War I and stretched well into the 1930s. When compared to post-1914 nationalist violence, the interwar right-wing terrorism developed a strong paramilitary culture, which was not only inspired by nationalism but also by anti-bolshevism and anti-Semitism.

A third phase of terrorist violence, with a strong anti-colonial focus, emerged in the mid-1930s and continued from the Second World War until the 1980s. In the colonies, fears of nationalist and bolshevist revolutions fostered violent confrontations between colonial rulers and anti-colonial militants as self-appointed *freedom fighters* (a term invented during the period). In Europe militant ethno-nationalists fought violently against their perceived oppressors. A fourth phase of terrorism, associated with the New Left, globally emerged during the manifold cultural and political upheavals in the 1960s and stretched until the demise of the socialist states in the late 1980s and early 1990s. New Left terrorism was a form of terrorism that, in its initial phase, aimed at gaining support of the working-class. It often had close ties to middle-class social movements and developed out of a nearly global feeling of societal dissatisfaction, which saw the existing consumer society, state structures and political order as inherently repressive and alienating.

2.2.2 Religious Terrorism

The fifth phase of terrorism is dominated by religiously-motivated terrorist actions of the post-1980s. The many problems inherent in the term religious terrorism given, four qualifications need to be made (overviews on religious terrorism are given by Pape and Feldman 2010; Juergensmeyer 2007; Sageman 2008). First, religious convictions do not lead to terrorism per se. Religious communities resort to violent means when experiencing political and social isolation and when feeling under threat. Second, acts of religious terrorism are not only committed by Islamist groups but also by Christian fundamentalists such as Timothy McVeigh in 1995 or (in an earlier period) Jewish militants such as the *Irgun* in the 1930/40s. Third, religious, political, nationalist and

[8] As this scheme of periodization has only briefly been tested, it is still open to revisions.

even local concerns are often very closely related and are thus hard to separate. Already since the French Revolution religious codes had been transferred into political spheres and thus contributed massively to forming political symbols. Thus it can hardly come as a surprise that anti-colonial violence had a religious character, as nationalism was articulated through local religions. Fourth, the motivations of religious terrorists stem not only from (sometimes oppositional) individual religious beliefs but also from an imagined transnational religious community, such as the global Islamist *Umma*.

Finally, from a historical perspective the question arises: Is religious terrorism different from earlier patterns of terrorism? Let us start with a critical comment. When it comes to religious militants the term *transnational terrorism* tends to neglect their local roots. As recent research has elaborated, these terrorists are not only symbolically connected with like-minded individuals: He or she inevitably has connections with certain social milieus (see Weinhauer 2012a; Malthaner and Waldmann 2012). There are many similarities between anarchism and religious terrorism. As the rich research underlines, since the late nineteenth century, anarchism and the campaigns to fight it were transnational, even global phenomena (Hirsch and van der Walt 2010; Anderson 2005). This global presence of anarchism and syndicalism is rooted in labor migration and in forced migration due to political persecution, in the dense international networks upheld through a highly mobile anarchist elite and in the presence of transnational flows of money from dispersed anarchist communities all over the world (Jensen 2009; Turcato 2007; Shaffer 2009, 2010, 2010a). Highly important was also that anarchists imagined themselves as being part of an international movement: The main source which fuelled this imagination was the numerous anarchist newspapers that meticulously reported about activities of anarchists and syndicalists all over the world. These newspapers and anarchist clubs were especially wide-spread in urban settings – often in port cities and state capitals, as here many networks overlapped and formed nods of intense communication and of transfer of ideas. Many anarchists shared also the "bitter experiences at the hands of the [...] state both domestically and imperially" (Anderson 2005, 187).

There are also two major differences between nineteenth century anarchism and contemporary religious terrorism, which still await, however, closer examination. On the one hand, while anarchist actions were directed against one nation state and its representatives, and also against transnational capitalism, religious terrorism defines itself against the *West*, often with the USA as the top target. On the other hand, for the terrorists of the late twentieth/early twenty-first century sending political messages primarily to the state has become a much more contested issue, as in the age of digital media such a message could easily get lost or could be superimposed by competing information. The case of the London bombings on 7 July 2005 does underline this problem (Weinhauer 2012): The actions of these urban suicide bombers almost instantly generated

tremendous public attention. Their bombings immediately became news commodities. This news, however, did not primarily discuss the challenge or the (re-)actions of the state. Rather, this communication was structured around victim-based discourses on trauma and suffering. Media news about trauma and suffering of victims of terrorism were mainly addressed to urban consumers and their needs of identity formation in a highly competitive "society of consumers" (Z. Baumann) – much less to the state. In these news, which were not only generated by news agencies but also by the video-recordings of the surviving victims of the terrorist attacks and by the people who came to help them, personal issues took at least a temporary precedence over state related problems.

3. Gender and Terrorism in Historiography

In the twentieth century, gender did not seem to be a suitable analytical category to analyze terrorism or political violence. But an overview of the published results of current research in political science, especially of gender studies or gendered security studies, shows that gender and terrorism have become an important topic since 9/11 and since the growing participation of Muslim women in terrorist attacks (Nachtigall 2012). A remarkable number of recent publications deal with the question of how to explain that, from a Western point of view, *oppressed* Muslim women entered the political arena as suicide bombers (Hasso 2005; Brunner 2011; Rajan 2011; McManus 2013). Others, like Caroline O. N. Moser and Fiona C. Clark (2005), Cindy Ness (2008), Miranda Alison (2009), Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry (2011) analyze the female careers into terrorism and the changing structures of terrorist organizations when women came on board. They deal with gender and agency or the discursive representation of gender and terrorism (Åhäll and Shepherd 2012; Poloni-Staudinger and Ortbals 2013). Recently counterterrorism and security studies have added gender to their analytical categories. Research projects on peace building and peace keeping in international political affairs discuss questions of gender (Sjoberg 2010; Satterthwaite and Huckerby 2013). Last but not least, the gender-concept of the male Islamic terrorist has come into view (Aslam 2012).

All authors more or less stress the strong gender-bias which characterizes the representation of the terrorist, whether they analyze self-representations, representations in media or the social background of terrorism. Often they assume that men and women have a different historical or anthropological relation to political violence, or at least that terrorists are gender-specifically treated by their organizations. Cindy Ness concisely formulated in an article about the current secular and Islamist female terrorism: "With few exceptions violence is cross-culturally considered a male arena – and therefore take as its

point of departure that any social group that sanctions female violence, whether secular or religious, must explain itself to itself" (Ness 2005, 354). And Laura Sjoberg summarizes:

> Far from being irrelevant, gender is crucial to understanding agency in terrorism – women (and men) live in a gendered world. But sex is not an explanatory variable – women and men do not terrorism differently based on their biological makeup. Instead, terrorist live in and terrorism occurs in gendered worlds. Because of this feminists have suggested that terrorism itself is gendered (Sjoberg 2011, 235f.).

From a gendered historical point of view the compelling outlines and results of political and sociological research on female *Tamil Tigers*, female Islamist suicide bombers or *Chechen Black Widows* refer to the long historical traditions of representing gendered political violence. But the mentioned studies mostly interpret terrorism as a phenomenon which emerged only in the twentieth century and at best, if they work historically, they compare case studies dealing with post-World War II phenomena and recent examples of political non-state violence. The important terrorist varieties of the nineteenth century are commonly neglected. In general, they use terms with a centuries-old gendered tradition, for example terms such as hero or martyr. This is mostly done without reflection on the historically rooted gendered implications of these terms and without analyzing the gendered traditions of the representation of male or female political violence, which are more than two hundred years old. These observations characterize not only recent research on terrorism and gender, but research on terrorism as a whole. And these observations suggest or make clear that there is a lack in historical research on the history of terrorism and especially on the history of terrorism and gender.

If we analyze historical publications on political violence in general, gender has not played an important role, and this is not just a characteristic of German historiography.[9] But when historical publications deal with political violence against the state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries we can often find the same gender-bias which characterizes recent representations of terrorism and gender.[10] And we can add: It is the same gender-bias, which characterizes the representation of political violence since the French Revolution. When the media from the nineteenth century onward or past and present academic historians have set out to analyze the participation of women in political violence, they have mostly assumed that men and women have a different relation to political violence. Consequently, the motivation of women to commit acts of

[9] A first overview of historical terrorism and gender in Europe give Hikel and Schraut (2012).

[10] To mention only two examples: Dominique Godineau interpreted the violence of women of the French Revolution as male interpretation of female behaviour (Godineau 1997). Joachim Wagner, who pioneered the analysis of the biographies of German anarchists of the late nineteenth century had only men in his sample and saw now necessity to explain the neglect of supporting women (Wagner 1981).

political violence is explained by the existence of particular or extraordinary circumstances.[11] It can be assumed that the traditionally linked terms male=active=fighting and female=passive=peaceful persist although there is no historical evidence which substantiate these associative chains. Often the emphasis is on the close relation between the nation interpreted as male and the propensity to warfare which is associated with maleness (Cockburn 2003; Roß 2002). What is important however is not only the fact that political opponents, academic researchers and even brothers-in-arms seem to consider it necessary to find particular explanations for female participation in violent political acts in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, but this participation also provokes specific interpretations which are closely linked with the debate on the legitimacy or reprehensibility of politically motivated violence in history. This phenomenon has to be picked up later once more.

How do research perspectives on the history of terrorism change if we use the analytical category gender? At first glance there is no necessity to alter the definitions of terrorism. In general they seem to be formulated without restrictions on gender. But historical research often requires to deconstruct seemingly neutral terms and to describe their historical background in order to make their gender bias visible. To give some examples: A definition which insists on the importance of media debates on the aims of the terrorists should explain the different chances for men and women to use media in specific historical conditions. Analyzing terrorism in history in a gendered perspective also means to clarify the gendered ways to do politics. To speak for example about a female terrorist group as a specific group of politically not influential persons does not make sense for times in which women in general were denied participation in political parties or elections. In historical studies it does not suffice to analyze courts and accused in a neutral manner; it is necessary to speak of male judges and lawyers debating about a female accused. To sum up: Historical case studies have to take into consideration the limitations of agency, which were much more gendered in history than they are today.

3.1 The Starting Point of Terrorism in Gender Perspective

Let us examine the starting point of terrorism in gender perspective: There is no argument not to start with the French Revolution. During this period which is closely linked with the founding of modern democracy and modern media we can see the shaping of modern gender models and the development of gendered representations of male and female terrorists. Such representations created a long tradition and influenced current representations of the terrorist in public media. When in France the bourgeois Third Estate declared "we are the nation" it seemed that the newly defined political sphere could be opened for

[11] An overview can be found in Harders (2002), Hagemann (2005) or in Alison (2009, 85-121).

women too. But in 1793 the political clubs of women were prohibited. According to the member of the Convention André Amar, the bizarre and unnatural behavior of women in politics and their low knowledge, attention span, devotion or capacity made this decision necessary.[12] Referring to Rousseau's famous *Emile* of 1762 *he* represents rationality, activity and political authority; *she* represents emotionality, passivity and privacy. That is why wives should be good assistants of their husbands, educate their children well as Republicans and be quiet in politics. The decision to prohibit female political clubs and its gender-based justification were influential through the whole nineteenth and even through the twentieth century. But not only the bourgeois gender model is rooted in the French Revolution. Even the female terrorist has its roots in this period. We can start with the early forms of terrorism, namely with Charlotte Corday who assassinated Jean-Paul Marat at the outset of the *terreur* in 1793 in Paris (Schraut 2013b). She herself interpreted the assassination as symbolic murder to raise the awareness of the public, as a declaration to the French people to find a new peace between the revolutionary parties. This assassination by a woman was famous and vigorously discussed by the European audience in the following decades (Stephan 1989; Beise 1992). Soon afterwards imitators tried to copy Charlotte Corday's version of an assassination. Almost unknown is Aimee Cécile Renoult or Renaud, who unsuccessfully tried to kill Robespierre in 1794. The contemporaries were not sure about her aims but they compared Renoult with Charlotte Corday.[13] Similarly Karl Ludwig Sand, one of the most famous European assassins of the early nineteenth century, whose aims were comparable with the targets of modern terrorists, wanted to provoke the media and an audience by political violence. In 1819 he killed the well-known author August von Kotzebue and saw himself in the tradition of Charlotte Corday. In his luggage the police found the heroic epic which Jean Paul had published about Charlotte Corday (Jean Paul 1809). In the following decades of the nineteenth century a long series of early and elaborated forms of terrorism and terrorists saw themselves in the tradition of Charlotte Corday and Karl Ludwig Sand and the contemporaries compared these perpetrators with the founding mother and father of modern terrorism (Patyk 2012; Schraut 2013b). That is why taking the French Revolution as a starting point is very important for gendered terrorism studies.

In which way do theories and approaches to analyze and explain terrorism change, if the analytical category gender is used? First of all it is necessary to analyze the specific historical backgrounds of case-studies as gendered circumstances. Many approaches seem to deal with genderless human beings. To work on terrorism as social movement, as strategy of communication via the

[12] Justification of the decision to prohibit female political clubs by Amar, 9. Brumaire II, Archives parlementaires, vol. 78, 50f., translated into German in Petersen (1991, 221-5).
[13] To mention one source among many others: Adolphus (1799, 429).

media, even using the perspective of the interaction between terrorist groups and governmental counterterrorism, anti-colonial fights or security studies requires gender-sensitive methods and procedures, as we have to accept that society is not gender-neutral at all. If male and female agency differed in specific historical and social conditions these differences influenced not only the behavior of the male or female terrorist, but also the reaction of (gendered) media and they influenced the persons making the decisions in the governmental arena. Even the studies done by contemporaries or recent (male or female) researchers are not free from gendered judgments. Their attitudes towards gender influence their explanations of the behavior of a terrorist or of the social circumstances in which terrorism is developing, no matter if they deal with history or the present.

To give an example: Contemporaries and researchers who have found it necessary to give special explanations for the actions of female terrorists are implicitly convinced that in general women are more remote from political violence than men. But a view back into history shows the opposite. From a historical point of view, the participation of women has not intensified recently – even if many research studies on terrorism since 9/11 claim the opposite. Women using political violence can already be found in the French Revolution. Moreover, the anarchist movement in the second half of the nineteenth century was supported by men and women. Especially the Russian Nihilists were discussed by the contemporaries as a movement with strong women at the frontline. It is assumed that about 25% of the Russian anarchists were female. Conversely, German anarchism of the late nineteenth century is known as male movement. But some anarchist contemporaries described their (sometimes) bad experiences with the wives of their supporters (Most 1890, 48-50). Have research studies neglected these women because they have been *only* wives (Lemmes 2012, 91)? The New Left terrorism which developed in the 1970s in Germany, France, Italy or even Japan was an array of movements in which men and women participated as equal partners (Gentry 2004; Churchill 2007). Charles Russel and Bowman Miller counted about 10% female terrorists in a sample of 350 well-known terrorists out of 18 terrorist organizations, which were active in urban areas in the 1970s (Russel and Bowmann 1977). It is supposed that a third of the members of the German RAF were female (Bandhauer-Schöffmann and van Laak 2013). Some terrorist groups, for example in Japan, showed female leadership (Steinhoff 1989). Others, like the German *Rote Zora* had only female members and a feminist program. But despite of these known or estimated terrorist gender quotas contemporaries and researchers who are convinced of the peaceful nature of women interpret the female use of violence as unnatural. Therefore female terrorism calls for explanation and seems especially violent.

From this follows another example: Contemporaries and researchers who were or are convinced that women act more emotionally than men will describe

female terrorists – who act beyond their traditional gender-boundaries – as persons who are particularly cruel and irrational when using violence, because they transgress gender-borders. Already Friedrich Schiller described the female Republicans of the French Revolution in his poem *The Song of the Bell* as follows:

> Liberty, Equality! Men hear sounding, / The tranquil burgher takes up arms, / The streets and halls are all abounding, / And roving, draw the murd'ring swarms; / Then women to hyenas growing / Do make with horror jester's art, / Still quiv'ring, panther's teeth employing, / They rip apart the en'my's heart (Schiller 1799).

And in the middle of the nineteenth century Jules Michelet, who wrote a book about the women of the French Revolution, explained: "During the whole course of the Revolution, I see them violent and intriguant, and often more guilty than men" (Michelet 1855, 323; Grubitzsch 1985). He concluded:

> It is not our fault if nature has made them, not only weak, as it is said, but infirm daughters of a starry world, as by their unequal temperaments, they are unable to perform all the stern duties of a political world. […] this has plainly been shown in our Revolutions. It was principally women who have caused them to fail. Their intrigues have undermined, and their deaths (often merited, but always impolitic) have powerfully served the contre-revolution (Michelet 1855, 324).

In statements on politically violent women, the postulated emotional female character is often combined with emotionally caused fortitude and perseverance. At the end of a long series of similar statements Christian Lochte, head of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution of Hamburg who was in the 1970s confronted with the RAF, explained: Female terrorists are more dangerous than male ones because they are emotionally more duty-bound to their aims than men. He is quoted with: "Who loves his life, should shoot at the female terrorists at first" (MacDonald 1992, 216; Diewald-Kerkmann 2010).

3.2 The Gender-Transgressing Qualities of Terrorism

We can find gendered preconceived attitudes in particular in research studies which use biographical methods. The sheer fact that there are far fewer studies about the quality of masculinity of male terrorists than such about the quality of femininity of female terrorists refers to the anticipated greater distance to political violence of women in contrast to men.[14] But the analysis of historical statements and of historically working biographical research studies shows: Both women and men seem to transgress their gender roles if they carry out

[14] To mention only some examples for members of the RAF: (Ditfurth 2007; Wesemann 2007; autobiographical: Meyer 1996; Viett 1997; Schiller 2000; Proll 2004; Ensslin 2005; Lehto-Bleckert 2013).

acts of violence against their own government or against the laws of their political system.

How can we describe the representation of the gender-transgressing nature of male terrorists which had been developed since the French Revolution? We may start with the image of Carl Ludwig Sand, the murderer of August von Kotzebue and fighter against European restoration. In the early nineteenth century, people paid immense attention to this assassination and Sand won many sympathizers by his act of political violence. But at least even the representations of the murder in those media which defended Sand describe him as a man who transgressed masculine gender roles (Schraut 2012). They draw the image of a sensitive (female) man who emotionally was not able to bear the restorative and freedom-of-speech oppressing conditions after the Congress of Vienna (1814/15). The conservative critics even portrayed Sand as a female man, a man whose emotions were too strong and who was primarily educated by his mother, a man who was not able to participate rationally in politics. In summary: Sand was a weak man. To quote one example from 1831: according to Carl Jarcke Sand was a young man, underdeveloped in mind and body. His writings show (female) "depression", "melancholy" and "disappointment" as well as "a true impression of the chaos, in which Sand's mind was destroyed in those times" (Jarcke 1831, 75). This representation as female man influenced the representation of the male terrorist through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But we can see two competing interpretations of political masculinity which were deeply combined with the writer's attitude towards democracy and political violence against the state. On one side stands the man who acts rationally in interior political affairs. He is a democrat who denies the necessity of political violence and distances himself from the weak (female) man who uses violence. On the other side, we find the representation of the strong man who uses violence to defend his country against external enemies in wartime and also to defend the nation – later his fatherland – against internal enemies (mostly left-wing). Finally, the positive or negative attitude towards the state monopoly of force decided and decides about the gendered representation of the male terrorist. But even the sympathizers on the right wing who welcomed political violence in order to defend the fatherland in the interior – many examples for that can be found between the two World Wars – described the male terrorist as a man without a sex life, as man whose emotions were only bound to the nation, as bodiless and therefore as a man who suppressed large parts of his masculinity. "You know, that I do not trail women's skirts," Sand explains, for example, in the novel of Hans Schönfeld, released captain and writer during the 1920s and 30s (Schönfeld 1927, 12).

In order to demonstrate the gender-transgressing quality of political violence of female terrorists we once more may start with Charlotte Corday. Only some weeks after the assassination, at the memorial service for Marat, Marquis de Sade called Corday a hermaphrodite or at least "an androgynous creature with-

out sex, which descended from hell to the despair of men and women" (Sade 1978, 81). This interpretation established a long lasting and influential narrative about the transgressive gender code of female assassins.

> In 1891 for example, the Italian criminologist Lombroso lectured on the Russian female anarchists following Charlotte Corday: "Petersburg counts 168,000 unmarried or separated women and 98,000 married women. [...] The consequences are evident. [...] The women cannot live their natural lives, and they turn to politics. [...] Here we can find these female students or, as they call themselves, 'tomboys' (Weib-Männer), who are fond of severe conspiracies, hunt after rich inheritors, in order to fill the treasury of their group, who kidnap prisoners, bribe prison guards, find everywhere entrance as maids and nurses and make propaganda, in which they are extraordinary" (Lombroso and Laschi 1891, 230).

In 1905, Karl von Levetzow wrote about the French anarchist Louise Michel: "There is a certain beauty in the face; but then it is a hard, severe, pure masculine beauty, all of female softness and gentleness is totally lacking [...] Is it a man, is it a woman?" (Levetzow 1905, 311). Fantasizing about the gender of female terrorists and referring to Charlotte Corday, the Austrian writer and psychoanalyst Fritz Wittels wrote in 1908: "The female assassins are the burning mountains of the imprisoned female libido [...] The loneliness of the female political assassins may be voluntarily or involuntarily, the result is the same und means rejection of sexuality: they do not want to kiss" (Wittels 1908, 32). Even in the 1970s the contemporaries still discussed the gender-transgressing nature of female terrorists (Grisard 2011, 2012; Bandhauer-Schöffmann 2012). If female terrorism was not explained as being caused by the unwillingness of women to behave as *real* women, their search for gender-equality and emancipation served as an explanation. Last but not least, the sympathizers of political violence used the gender-transgressing nature of female terrorism to explain its necessity. As a result there were three typical gendered patterns to explain German female terrorism in the 1970s: (1) Women are not able to participate rationally in politics. (2) Women become terrorists because they try to become emancipated and because they are not real women. (3) Women are oppressed twice by patriarchy and capitalism and therefore act as terrorists (Schraut 2007). Similar explanations for female terrorism can be found in research studies about recent terrorism (Poloni-Staudinger and Ortbals 2013, 33-50).

Are there indeed arguments for combining female terrorism with female emancipation in specific historical circumstances? Many modern authors who published on recent female terrorism would agree. Let us first examine the nineteenth century. If we interpret the call for female political rights in these times as call for emancipation then it is logical to interpret female terrorists as emancipated women because they did not only call for political rights but they defined political participation as possibility to participate in violent political affairs. And indeed the anarchists of the second half of the nineteenth century discussed female emancipation and gender-equal political rights. In 1845 Mi-

chael Bakunin wrote about a beloved woman: "Love means liberty, to want the total independence of the other. [...] We only can truly love a free human being, who is not only free from all the others but especially independent of the lover and beloved" (Nettlau 1972, 14). In Naechev's (or Bakunin's) famous *Catechism of a revolutionary* (1869) we can read:

> The sixth category is especially important: women. [...] Finally, there are the women who are completely on our side – i.e., those who are wholly dedicated and who have accepted our program in its entirety. We should regard these women as the most valuable of our treasures; without their help, we would never succeed (Laqueur 1978, 59).

Or we may quote Karl Heinzen who developed an early theory of terrorism in *The murder* (1849) and *Murder and liberty* (1853). In 1852 he also wrote about *The rights of women* which was, in 1891 published as the revised version *The rights of women and the sexual relations*. Here we can read: "First, therefore, comes the political emancipation of woman, i.e. her installation into her political rights, so that she may have the liberty and the opportunity to guard her own interests in the State without the tutelage of the men" (Heinzen 1891, 38). He summarized:

> Let liberty with its champions, socialism with its apostles, reason with its teachers, appeal to the love and sympathy of all women of right thought and noble feeling, whose striving, whose interests, whose happiness, whose future do indeed lie only in the path of these revolutionary motors" (Heinzen 1891, 163).

Obviously, anarchist theory postulated that men and women should fight with equal political rights by using political violence and terrorism to first win over the masses and afterwards the revolution. But in practice, the anarchists of the nineteenth century had the same problems as other men to overcome the gender stereotypes of their times. Rudolf Rocker, a German anarchist, for example, who met the famous French anarchist Louise Michel in the 1890s, had nothing more to write about this woman than to describe her as a human being of "indescribable goodness of heart" (Rocker 1974, 139). What was important for him was the following anecdote:

> Once a friendly comrade donated a beautiful coat to her, which he had especially designed for her. [...] Some weeks we had the pleasure to admire Louise in her new coat, until she suddenly wore her old dress again. As it turned out later one evening on her way home a female ragged bagger had been asking for charity. So she gave her beautiful, warm coat (ibid, 140).

This is the story of St. Martin sharing his coat and not the description of a female anarchist and terrorist. Women who used political violence stressed the limitations of gender even in the eyes of anarchists and they needed special gendered explanations why their female comrades were *good* and *real* women or wives despite their terrorist/anarchist acts and inclinations. Sometimes the female supporters of anarchism were even by their comrades described in an unfriendly manner. August Reinsdorf, a German anarchist who unsuccessfully

tried to kill Germany's whole leading noble elite at the opening of the national monument *Niederwalddenkmal* in 1883, was terrified by the wives of his comrades. "An anarchist, who is hidden by sympathizing families, will get critical views of the wives after three days at the latest if he is not willing or able to contribute to the costs of living," he wrote. "In Germany the married comrades are almost always unfit for the revolution" (Reinsdorf in Most 1890, 49).

Do we have statements of female anarchists who reflect their gender role? Beyond the demand for equal rights opinions of female terrorists on their gendered self-concept seem to be rare in the nineteenth century. We only know of one early reflection on the female gender character and political violence: When Amalie Struve, the wife of Gustav Struve, a radical democrat and German 1848er, was not allowed to accompany her husband during the revolutionary fights, she wrote:

> Never I felt so deeply the unworthy status, in which the female gender remained until today compared with the male gender. Why should the woman, who is able to, not work in the moment of decision. Why should the wife, who shared the dangerous situations of her husband, not work together with him? No doubt as long as even during the storm of revolution so many considerations towards traditional prejudices were taken, the yoke of tyranny shall not be broken (Struve 1850, 68f.).

Known is also the critical attitude towards patriarchy which characterizes Louise Michel: "The proletarian is a slave, the wife of the proletarian is the slave of all slaves […] Will you [the men] dare to share rights, when men and women shall have won human rights?" she wrote in her autobiography, first published in 1886 (Michel 1962, 117, 119). After the First World War leftwing female politicians and authors began to fundamentally discuss gender roles; now by emancipation they meant more than gender equality. An article in the *Social Revolution* (no. 12. May 1st 1937) states:

> The revolutionary man, who fights for his freedom today only fights against the outside world. [...] Conversely the revolutionary woman has to fight in two arenas. At first for her external liberty – in this fight she finds with the man her comrade, she fights together with him for the same aims, for the same topic. But she has also to fight for an internal liberty, a liberty which the man has owned for a long time; and in this fight she stands alone (Frauen in der Revolution 1976, 14).

Similar statements, re-formulated, were discussed when the second wave of the Women's Rights movement separated itself from the Student Movement in the 1970s. But not one of the (German) female terrorists of this time defined herself as a feminist or woman primarily fighting for female emancipation. Probably we have to turn the emancipation argument upside down. There is no direct path from the demand of emancipation – interpreted by its critics as unnatural – to political violence. But women, and this applies to the past and the present, who define themselves as emancipated and who therefore demand participation in political rights, use political violence if they are part of a violent political

movement. And it is another question whether politically active women, peacefully or not, developed or develop feminist attitudes. But we can conclude: Overall, sympathizing and critical descriptions of female and male terrorists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries share the assumption that these persons transgress their gender roles. This is only one result which demonstrates the benefit of the analytical category gender in historical research studies, which analyze the representation of the terrorist (Malvern and Koureas 2014).

3.3 The Gender Bias of the Representation of Terrorism

Beyond the gender-transgressing phenomenon, we can see other long lines of gendered representation of political violence since the French Revolution. When characterizing the terrorist, sympathizers and enemies have used traditional attributes without reflection on the traditional historical gender bias of such terms. Let us concentrate on *hero* and *martyr*. Already the contemporary sympathizers of Corday and Sand and their followers used these representations to describe the assassins. The witness of the Sand assassination Karl August Varnhagen von Ense for example, commented in 1851 that Sand

> was celebrated like a martyr, he received flowers and refreshments, the people gathered in front of the hospital and gave him cheers and applause, enthusiastic Catholics prayed for his soul in public, but in particular many of the numerous English men and women who were in the town at that time declared their admiration of the deed and the perpetrator (Varnhagen von Ense 1851, 657).

The hero of the liberal contemporaries, who after the attack had staged his suicide in public, had prepared a small memorial which reads as follows: "Early death does not break the course of victory, if we die as heroes." (Die wichtigsten Lebensmomente 1819, 19). In the same way Charlotte Corday was celebrated by her sympathizers as female hero, holy woman, even priest or *angel of assassination*. The debate on political assassins and terrorist anarchists in the second half of the nineteenth century seamlessly took up the discourse of the first half of that century. In 1885, the anarchist magazine *Freiheit* for instance argued after the failed assassination of the Danish Prime Minister Jacob Brønnum Scavenius Estrup:

> This noble young man [the perpetrator Julius Rasmussen] is languishing in prison now. But outside there are countless young men and women who consider him a martyr for the sake of the greatest goods of humanity, a pioneer and a protagonist who, by his dedication and energy, showed the way all revolutionaries have to go when they want to achieve their aim (Ein Mann der Tat 1885).

There are also many examples from the second half of the twentieth century which show that terrorists are regarded as heroes, or at least as martyrs. There is a "pathetical use and politicization of Christian thought and metaphors," as research into the propaganda of the German RAF states (Bremer 2007, 291). The journal *Fokus* published an article entitled "Fear of a new martyr-legend"

about a shoot-out in which the alleged RAF member Wolfgang Grams was killed (Kintzinger 1993). In April 2014, a Google search for the combination *terrorism* and *martyrs* offered about 1,520,000 web pages. It is evident that the term martyr has experienced a renaissance with the current Islamist suicide attacks. Even the critics of political violence adopted or adopt these terms without reflection on the gendered connotations.

To use the term martyrdom invites us to make use of the interpretations and attitudes offered by the 2000-year-old Christian tradition (Schwemer 1999). *Martyr* was used in the New Testament to describe those who are witnesses of Christian faith. In the second century, the term was transferred to Christians who were tortured and killed because of their faith. As early as the third century, it appears to be clear that true martyrdom had to be inseparably linked with the will to die for the faith. For the purpose of gender analysis it is important that not only the willingness to go to death in order to bear witness of Christ is a requirement for achieving the title of honor *martyr*, but that other virtuous acts may also qualify for this title. We will come back to this later.

At first some aspects of the Christian tradition of martyrdom have to be emphasized: Martyrs are regarded as heroes who have to be admired because of their readiness to give up their lives. Their decision to follow Jesus' life of suffering made them closer to Jesus than other mortals. Therefore, Christian tradition regarded martyrs as examples worth being emulated. Martyrs who suffered death for the sake of Christ and those who suffer hardship for the sake of God had to be commemorated. Martyrs however do not only appear in Christian tradition. Similar to the term hero which traditionally meant half-god and which was since medieval and early modern times closely linked with Christian concepts, the term martyr became a secular one in the era of the French Revolution. Since then, people have not only died for the sake of Christ, but also for the sake of and at the altar of the fatherland (Hoffmann-Curtius 1995). Since the French Revolution, a secular tradition of heroism and martyrdom has existed. But the martyr ready to die for the sake of his convictions – "a perennial figure in human history" (Zwicker 2006, 13) – is, even in the form of the nineteenth-century national or political martyr, shaped according to the pattern of the Christian martyr. It is an image "which even those who radically rejected these traditions could not elude" (ibid., 264).

In order to analyze the gendered impact of Christian characteristics of martyrs, we have to examine the respective Christian narrative tradition. Christianity does not only know only male, but also female martyrs, although they are less in number. Female martyrs are persecuted for other reasons than their male peers. They are as family members involved in the early Christian Church or they self-confidently decide to follow the Christian way of life. Like their male peers, they would rather choose torture and death than to waive their convictions. Now and then, they follow members of their family into death. But at the centre of their resistance is not bearing witness in blood, but rather defending

sexual virtuousness. They decide to live chastely and against marriage. Mostly, Christian female martyrdom means to keep one's virtues, not to stand up for one's convictions. Still today, modern Catholic registers of martyrs name women who died primarily because they fought for the preservation of their virginity. In connection with the development of the bourgeois gender model, female martyrdom in the Christian tradition has been exempt from the political secularization since the French Revolution. Already the nineteenth-century debates on female terrorists show the problems which even the sympathizers had to describe and to celebrate violence by women as well as their heroism or martyrdom. Therefore, the newly developed images of political female martyrs do not use the main narrative line of the Christian tradition, but its side line: persecution in the context of the family. Based on the bourgeois gender model, the anarchist paper *Freiheit*, for instance, tried to explain women's willingness to commit assassinations with the persecution of family members. One example is a text about Helene Marković who in 1883 attempted to assassinate the Serbian king, but failed:

> Soon a number of fighters were dead, amongst them Zephrem Marković, the worthy brother of Svetozar and the worthy husband of the steadfast and heroic Helene Marković. The latter had aroused the suspicion of Milan[15] and was thrown into prison and executed without any judgment by a court – just like a dog. This was the reason why Helene Marković armed herself to take revenge on the villain Milan, but unluckily without success. Hats off to this martyr! (Helene Marković 1883).

It is only a short way from there to today's Palestinian brides and the *Chechen Black Widows*. Similarly, it would be interesting to analyze the gendered connotations of the term *hero*. A hero in ancient Greek tradition was always a supernatural man, a son of a male or female godness. How should it then be possible to describe a female hero? The sympathizers of terrorism had to mix male attributes of a hero with female attributes of a female martyr if they wanted to create the representation of a female hero.

In bringing together the gender-transgressing images of terrorists with the gendered tradition of characterizing male and female terrorists as heroes and martyrs, we are able to detect differentiated representations of terrorism which are gendered in a double sense. These representations were influential in history and are influential today: The enemies of the terrorist feminize the male terrorist and masculinize the female terrorist. In their opinion using political violence means to transgress accepted political and gender roles. Both roles were defined during the French Revolution. In contrast, sympathizers imagine terrorists both as heroes and martyrs. However, by doing so, they follow the gender implications of these concepts. This is why the sympathizers of female terrorists are not free from representing their female heroes as non-political

[15] King Milan Obrenović IV (1882-1889).

virgins or sexless women, while they can portray a male martyr who is strong in his political opinions. By using the terms heroes and martyrs, the sympathizers borrow terms and symbols from the long Christian tradition. The images of the hero/heroine and the martyr carry with them the historical legacy of the logics of representation and, not least, traditional early modern gender concepts which have an impact on the current coverage of terrorism and current research. As a result the representation of the terrorist oscillates between gender role transgressing (with regard to the gender roles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) and gender role stabilizing (with regard to the gender roles of early modern and modern times). Obviously, approval of politically motivated violence can only be formulated with reference to representations and terms accompanied by traditional gender perspectives. We can sum up: Even today the analysts of terrorism cannot deny the gendered limitations and traditions of the culture they live in.

4. Future Research Perspectives

In summarizing the arguments put forward in this introductory chapter we would like to point towards some promising perspectives for future research on terrorism.[16] We will focus on cultures of memory, on victims and on the relationship between terrorists and their related communities/milieus. All of these suggestions integrate our gender-sensitive, communication-based approach outlined above. We start from the assumption that, in Europe and in the USA in the late 1990s/early 2000s, the agenda of terrorism research was considerably widened by challenging traditional research approaches. Interestingly, as we have seen on the preceding pages, this reformulation of terrorism research was pushed forward almost at the same time by authors from different academic fields, among them professional historians and scholars from the critical terrorism studies. Although more research still has to be done, we would like to formulate some working hypotheses how this caesura came about.

In our view these changes in terrorism research were more than mere reinterpretations. Rather, what started in the late 1990s (that means already before 9/11) can be characterized as a deep caesura in the system of academic knowledge about terrorism. Established scholarly narratives about political violence, the (nation) state and related gender codes were questioned. These traditional narratives were at the same time state-centered and very dichotomous: They (the terrorists) fought against us (the state and society). On a general level, the end of the Cold War with the implosion of the related interna-

[16] See for the concept of performativity as another challenging approach De Graaf (2011, 2012).

tional political order contributed to this change. Moreover, the still ongoing research about the upheavals of 1968 has also produced important insights which stimulated new questions.

The end of the Cold War and its inherent patterns of binary coding of the order of the state and of society also opened new space for studying violence, political violence and their histories from new perspectives. In our case, the fusion of violence research on the one hand and research on cultures of memory and on urban aspects of terrorism on the other hand are of special relevance (see for new perspectives in violence research Collins 2008; Bulst, Gilcher-Holtey and Haupt 2008; Inhetveen 2005; Trotha 1997; see as overview Weinhauer and Ellerbrock 2013. See for cultures of memory Schwelling 2012; Halbmayer and Karl 2012; Zimmermann 2012; Lessa and Druliolle 2011; Lambert 2012; Paletschek and Schraut 2008). Cultures of memory are about, to put it roughly, how collectives (societies, states, communities, groups etc.) construct their history. As terrorism is embedded into the interaction of the state, media societies and social movements, it is highly relevant to analyze in which way terrorism is integrated into cultures of memory (some aspects are discussed by Schraut 2013; Weinhauer and Requate 2012a).[17]

In addressing the legacies of political violence, recent memory studies bring our attention to the question: How could the victim (especially the private victim) as an independent third player emerge in a setting which was formerly so pre-dominantly structured by binary codes of them (terrorists) against us (state/society)? Although elaborated answer has not yet been given, some preliminary observations can be made. When we look at the history of terrorism and the fight against it, of course, victims always played an important role. On the one hand, the person who had been attacked or killed by terrorists was turned into a victim, often through state-organized mourning ceremonies. This quasi-official pattern of remembering (so to speak: The true or right way of remembering) dominated public discourse. On the other hand, the militant who had committed the terrorist act also became a victim but only for (the small group of) those who supported his or her actions. Such a hero or heroine or such a male or female martyr of supportive minority groups were not part of the mainstream cultures of memory.

At the end of the twentieth century, as West Germany and Northern Ireland demonstrate, the established dichotomous pattern of remembering victims of terrorism eroded (see Weinhauer 2012; Weinhauer and Requate 2012a). As we have mentioned above, the end of the Cold War and related changes built only the general setting for this change, which came about through three interrelated processes. 1) Stable channels of communication between members of the opposing camps were successfully established: In Northern Ireland these process-

[17] See also the comments of Edward Said (1988) on the role of terrorism in patriotic discourses on shared culture and identity.

es were initiated on the local level, where organizations of the victims of terrorism made themselves heard. In Western Germany important impulses came from relatives of RAF victims and from political liberals. 2) The established cultures of memory of terrorism eroded. In Northern Ireland the very hermetic local cultures of remembrance were overcome. This paved the way to put these local conflicts into perspective of a world-wide anti-colonial struggle and its transnational and translocal symbols. Western Germany witnessed an erosion of the entrenched lack of communication between the state and the terrorists. This went hand in hand with an erosion of the hermetic binary political codes and was also accompanied by a splintering of the memories of 1970s West German left-wing terrorism (see Weinhauer and Requate 2012a, 31ff.). This double process saw its breakthrough in the early twenty-first century. Since then remembering 1970s terrorism has mainly been structured around victim-based communication and by individualized, often non-political narratives. The publication of an increasing number of autobiographies in the early 2000s is an expression of this pluralization of memories of terrorism. 3) The perception and anti-terrorist practices of the state changed. In Northern Ireland the British state and its institutions lost its authority as an almighty colonial ruler.[18] In Western Germany this process was supported by governmental efforts to de-militarize anti-terrorist police interventions and counter insurgency strategies.

Employing the approach roughly outlined above with its focus on changes in the system of knowledge about terrorism and, related to this, in cultures of memory could also help to reformulate biographical approaches. The latter were prominent in the early studies on West German terrorism when, in the worst case, they labeled terrorists as born criminals or disturbed personalities. The early 2000s saw a wave of autobiographies (see as an overview Weinhauer 2004; Preece 2010). Today the state of academic biographical research is much more advanced and it is widely accepted to see biographies as socially and culturally constructed entities, which sometimes tell as much about the author as about its biographic object. What we are still missing are studies that analyze these biographies and autobiographies of militant activists from an explicitly gendered perspective.

Gendered perspectives on communities which are closely related to terrorists, be it families or supportive milieus, but also on life in terrorist underground groups, could generate stimulating perspectives for future terrorism research. Even the most advanced studies of the social milieu or subcultures of terrorists lack an explicit gendered perspective (see Malthaner and Waldmann 2012). Analyzing these communities, subcultures or milieu in a social and cultural historical perspective means to study actors, their activities and the related perceptions and patterns of communication from a gendered perspec-

[18] See on the broader context of contemporary processes of de-constructing the nation Berger, Eriksonas and Mycock (2011).

tive. Thus, it would be interesting to analyze whether the isolation from the outside world, which often occurs when militant groups come under the pressure of intense police search methods, is influenced by gendered patterns of perception and communication.

For the anarchist movements of the late nineteenth century there is a lack of research on anarchist couples, families and milieus. Such studies possibly could be able to explain the influence of anarchism on the socialist concept of the socialist couple where a married man and his wife were seen as laborers equipped with equal rights, not as actors using political violence. For the twentieth century the example of the Basque militant organization ETA draws our attention to the families of militant activists. Studying family relations of militant activists could help bridge the gap between the private (traditional family culture) and the political (with its often harsh police repression) – and vice versa. Against the background of social and political transformations in Spain during the 1960s, which allowed women to take up factory jobs and also to take part in covert cultural and political activities in radical youth organizations, by the 1970s women began to join ETA on a somewhat larger scale (see for the following Hamilton 2000, 2007). In joining the ranks of the militants, these women gained temporary access to ETA's male-dominated power structures. The life histories of these early female activists underline the importance of their families, father and mother alike, in the process of radicalization. Many of the early female militants remembered their fathers as strong, politically active figures, which influenced their own politically inclined rebelliousness. In contrast to Italian female activists of 1968, who often distanced themselves from their mothers, the early female militants of ETA did not portray their mothers' roles as being confined to (passive) domestic duties and by male chauvinism. Against the background of intensified social change in the 1960s, motherhood in the Basque country came to signify the potential for future political rebellion.

In Northern Ireland a close examination of militant milieus in Belfast found that narratives of masculinity changed since the British state had intensified its repression and since the members of the opposing milieus of pro-British Protestants on the one side and Republican Catholics on the other side fought themselves more vigorously. Until the 1960s, masculinity was imagined through narratives about the "hardman". He had local roots, challenged his opponent openly in an act of public performance of his virility and mainly fought with his fists. During the 1970s, however, this narrative faded. Dominant masculinity was now defined through the image of the "gunmen" (mostly put in the plural form). This narrative put emphasis on professional gun use embedded into organizational settings. In this pattern of violent masculinity fighting was more impersonal and anonymous, it was done from a distance and the faces of the "gunmen" were masked (see on this and on the consequences this transition had for the violence in Belfast Feldman 1991, 46-59).

5. The Contributions of this HSR Special Issue

At the start of this chapter we would like to recall two aspects we have outlined above: First, terrorism research is not only a field which finds the attention of many scholarly disciplines. It is also a field where there is a lack of communication between authors of these manifold disciplines. Second, terrorism research is also shaped by two competing interpretations. On the one hand, we have many studies following a more *structuralist* view often looking for practical solutions of the phenomenon of terrorism. From this perspective, terrorism is a political problem where clearly discernable leaders orchestrate the actions of their determined and agitated followers. Thus, the problem of terrorism can be solved by fighting terrorists, their milieu and their supporters. Since the 1990s, however, there has been a growing number of scholars who employ more *culturalist* perspectives on terrorism, focusing on visual representations and discursive constructions. These publications demonstrate the intellectual advantages which can be gained by stressing the communicative and gendered interaction of terrorism, of state actions and of media societies. This innovative framing can stimulate interdisciplinary exchange and help to overcome the (invented) dichotomies of structural versus cultural interpretations of terrorism.

The contributions to this HSR Special Issue emphasize two set points of focus. First, some of them will give an overview in the gender perspective of the state of research in disciplines which focus on terrorism. As our own introduction does for history, Eva Herschinger analyses the treatment of terrorism in the political sciences. Sue Malvern and Gabriel Koureas demonstrate the state of the art in the research of cultural representations of terrorism. Dominique Grisard treats gender and terrorism in the field of history of knowledge and Kevin Keenan in the field of (urban) space research. Second, we present some innovative case studies. María Xosé Agra Romero discusses gendered symbolics in terroristic and counter-terrorist fights. Maleeha Aslam analyses the connection of masculinity and terrorism in Pakistan, and Amanda Third discusses the representation of terrorism and feminism as crosswiring in American media of the 1960s and 1970s.

In detail: In her broad review of terrorism research in the field of Political Science and International Relations, *Eva Herschinger* calls for a historicized and much more coherent use of gender as an analytical category. First, it can help to overcome the gender blindness of the term terrorism in political sciences; second, gender deconstructs the political myth of protection, i.e. that states can legitimately fight wars to protect the vulnerable (women and children). Third, gender also challenges the myth of an intrinsic peacefulness/vulnerability of women.

Sue Malvern and Gabriel Koureas aim at strengthening culturalist perspectives on terrorism and related categories. In their view the terrorist, gender and visual representations are overlapping performative categories which cannot be fully understood without integrating military actors, and historical perspectives.

They point to the fact that in the early 2000s in military discourses, especially in an US-American military Field Manual from 2006, a culturalist turn occurred which presented the terrorist insurgent as a figure which tried to visualize the invisible enemy. Such historically sensitive debates were strongly influenced by emerging studies on colonial insurgencies.

Dominique Grisard, through studying the gendered production of knowledge about terrorism in 1970s Germany, aims at pointing out some Central European commonalities. She puts forward three arguments: First, she points towards a widespread bourgeois understanding of violence as fundamentally masculine. Second, the masculine gaze of mass media and state apparatuses (police) objectify the terrorist. Third, through an overtly masculine and familial frame, the production of knowledge of terrorism has relied on a narrative structure that pits rebellious sons against figural and literal fathers.

Taking urban space as a focus, *Kevin Keenan* stresses that in gender studies and in terrorism research, two sets of key approaches can be found. The one is focusing more on structures and institutions; the other is paying more attention to human perceptions and identities. Both research fields at least define gendered areas with consequences for gendered agency. In his view the study of gendered and space orientated risk perceptions can help to integrate both approaches. This could help to make space visible not only as area of specific life styles, social agency and risk but also the deep relation of (gendered) concepts of terrorism and counterterrorism.

In focusing on prisons, *María Xosé Agra Romero* studies the gendered interactions of political prisoners defined as terrorists and of state actors (soldiers and prison guards). Her contribution makes gender visible as fighting method of prisoners against state actors and vice versa of state actors against prisoners. Agra underlines that making menstrual blood "visible and nameable, it breaks the linguistic and visual taboos regarding bodies and fluids." Thus female blood labeled as an icon of female inferiority in a long cultural tradition became a weapon against men as prison guards or men as prisoners.

Terrorism research mainly analyses Western societies often employing abstract perspectives. In her study of local Pakistani Muslim communities, *Maleeha Aslam* underlines that terrorist actions are not mainly orchestrated by some remote leaders or by rootless world travelers. Instead, local social processes, shaped by cultural interpretation of violated norms of masculinity can lead to suicidal attacks aiming at achieving martyrdom and thus re-actualize masculinity. This contribution demonstrates in which way gendered cultural norms and national social circumstances are able to reinforce each other.

Amanda Third analyses the 1974 kidnapping of upper-class Patricia Hearst and her transformation into the terrorist *Tania*. Mainstream media presented this abduction as a double threat: It was directed against the nuclear family (which was deemed to be in crisis), its central patriarchal norms and gender relations; it also was a threat of counter-culturally based second wave feminism

which crosswired with the threat of *home-grown* US terrorism. She also underlines that mainstream media in this case operated overwhelmingly in favor of dominant cultural (patriarchal) interests; these media did not play into the hand of terrorists.

All in all, the contributions of this volume demonstrate four research results: First, analyzing terrorism singularly as a present day political phenomenon fails to recognize its long political, historical and cultural traditions of political violence which influence the present terroristic attacks, their representation in media, and even their scholarly or political analysis. Second, to neglect gender in political or academic terrorism studies makes us blind for the explanatory power of gender concepts, their influence on terroristic agency and on understanding the representation of the terrorist in the media and in scholarly research. Traditional (and present) gender concepts cross national and even religious cultural borders. That is why gendered analysis of terrorism can help to make transnational and transgenerational similarities visible. Third, the gendered interaction of terrorism with the state and with media societies is of crucial importance. In media societies mainstream media do not simply transmit information. Instead, they generate rather complex and sometimes competing impulses. On the one hand, they mostly serve to support dominant political and cultural norms and values. On the other hand, media set agendas by presenting, interpreting and discussing terrorist acts and related state actions. Thus they generate follow-up communication which challenges terrorists and the state. In this setting the actors have to ask themselves: What do we really want to achieve besides simply gaining public attention? Last but not least, this HSR Special Issue shows that interdisciplinary cooperation in terrorism studies broadens and strengthens our knowledge about political violence. As in the different disciplines gender as analytical category has a longer or shorter tradition – some refer to sex, some to gender, some to gender as cultural relational construction of femininity and masculinity in relation to political power – we emphasize not only the necessity to use gender as analytical category but also the necessity to reflect the meaning of the gender-concepts we use.

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